

The Nuclear Notebook

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NEW YORK TIMES 1-3-84

Civil Defense Is Crucial

By Edward Teller

PALO ALTO, Calif. — About 40 million Americans are likely to survive a worst-case large-scale nuclear attack, even without any protective measures. The total absence of civil defense preparations, the public's all but complete ignorance of the realities of nuclear war and the consequent potential for an exacerbation of a nuclear tragedy are among the most dangerous characteristics of our present defense effort, which neglects one thing — protective defense.

Civil defense cannot dispel the horrors of a nuclear war, but it could save millions of lives and prevent unnecessary suffering. Moreover, since the Soviet Union's leaders are cautious, they are not apt to take unnecessary risks. If we had a program under which most Americans might survive, the Soviet Union would be much less likely to attack us.

Yet, in a recent private conversation, a physician possessing "social responsibility" argued against civil defense, explaining that civil defense is to nuclear war as laetrile is to cancer. On the contrary, civil defense planning could reduce the number of American dead from 150 million to 50 million. Saving two-thirds of the possible victims is something laetrile is unable to do.

Not every country holds this same "socially responsible" view of civil defense. Sweden, Switzerland, China, the Soviet Union and Israel — countries similar in no other respect — all have considerable civil defense programs operating. Why this argument from a subscriber to the Hippocratic Oath?

The doctor may not know how to eliminate cancer, but he believes he knows how to avoid nuclear war. Unfortunately, his prescription of negotiated arms control, administered now for 25 years, has resulted in the

proliferation of Soviet nuclear explosive power to the point that it is now at least three times our own.

There can be no question that the Soviet Union, with its shaky economy, has emphasized military technology and civil defense to a far greater extent than we have. Our matching some of the deployed Soviet strength — 40,000 tanks or 20 years' construction of powerfully reinforced shelters — would be terribly expensive, but to establish appropriate civil defense measures would be easy in our healthy, civilian-oriented society.

The Soviet Union has had to adapt its creaky public transportation system to the task of rapid evacuation of cities. We experience considerable "evacuation" of our cities in a few disorderly hours every holiday weekend — without benefit of planning or one-way exit traffic on major roadways. That experience indicates that our cities' populations could be evacuated voluntarily in less than 24 hours. Areas supplied with suitable survival plans as well as food, water, shelter, medical goods and tools could be prepared at reasonable cost. Survival education and communication facilities, sufficient to save millions of lives, could be provided for less than \$5 per person and be available in little more than a year if Congress were willing.

The same "socially responsible" physician claims that saving lives through civil defense encourages war. Did the British encourage Hitler's attack by adopting civil defense measures that reduced the number of blitz victims by hundreds of thousands?

We have many programs to save lives and prevent unnecessary suffering. Do seat belts encourage reckless driving? Does owning a smoke alarm and fire extinguisher make people careless with fire? People will admit the possibility of accidents and fire but, understandably, refuse to think about nuclear war. However, unconscious worries do not abate, and now they have surfaced. People have thought about the fate of survivors and are thinking with somewhat greater realism about how to deter nuclear war.

Seat belts do not deter automobile accidents, nor can smoke alarms and extinguishers deter fires. They only reduce the severity of the conse-

quences. Civil defense could save innumerable lives, but, together with other protective measures, it might also actually help deter nuclear war.

Since another war would be the greatest disaster of this war-ridden century, we need to take every opportunity to deter it. The deterrent effect of a civil defense program that could be implemented in a year would help to prevent war; its absence only adds to the probability of war. Do we not value American lives? Must all our deterrence be based on threatening others?

Simple solutions are attractive. The closest we can come to one that has any hope of good results is to institute an elementary form of civil defense.

Edward Teller, a physicist who played a central role in the development of the hydrogen bomb, is a senior research fellow at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, at Stanford University.

OAKLAND TRIBUNE 1-3-84

Italians worry about U.S. missiles

By Lucy Komisar

COMISO, Italy — The square in Comiso, built around a baroque fountain and statue of Diana the Huntress, is salon and living room for the men of this traditional town near Sicily's southern coast. In the evening, they stand in clumps outside their political party meeting places on the ground floors of stone buildings that edge the piazza. They discuss politics and truck farming and, lately, the 112 cruise missiles that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization will install here in March.

What they are saying should be cause for some concern in the United States. Italy is one of America's most faithful allies and is likely to remain so. Yet the people here are worried about the missiles, skeptical about the value of Italy's geopolitical ties to the United States and worried that policy makers in Washington and Moscow are cut from the same cloth.

When asked for their thoughts, the men always began, as if by rote, with their party lines. The Communists opposed the missiles; the Socialists and Christian Democrats, whose national leaders are partners in Italy's coalition Government, said the weapons were necessary to counteract the Soviet SS-20's. Yet there was one common theme: a shared belief that the superpowers' bloc policies

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are equally dangerous and that, indeed, the bloc system is a main cause of the problem. One Socialist put it this way: "The two superpowers are the padrones of the world." Another man explained: "After the war, there was Yalta. The Americans took this part of Europe, the Russians took the other. We Italians, what can we do? In Sigonella (an American base in northern Sicily), there are Americans; in Tuscany, Pisa, Livorno, the same. We are occupied by America. What does it mean if we don't want missiles? The two powers meet in Geneva, and then they arm more and more. Neither does what is right." That was no Communist or even Socialist but rather a well-dressed, middle-aged Christian Democrat who seems to represent sentiments that cut across political party lines.

Polls suggest that 60 percent of Italians are against the missiles. More than a million Sicilians signed a petition asking that construction of the base be stopped; 11 Christian Democratic members of the Sicilian parliament joined 21 Communists and independents in a petition in November asking for suspension of the installation and condemning the "militarization" of the island. What underlies these gestures of protest is a sense that the missiles, far from protecting them, may make them vulnerable to nuclear retaliation or a pre-emptive strike.

There are, too, the stirrings of a similar sense of unease about NATO itself, incipient fears that it may do more to invite danger than repel it. "It's a fight against the wall, like Don Quixote. What can the people here do?" said a Socialist. "When a party is in government . . ." He shrugged and concluded, "Italy won't do anything, because it's in NATO."

There is very little sentiment for withdrawal from NATO inside the Communist Party, the strongest institutional force in the Italian peace movement and a moderating influence. Italian

communists are anti-Soviet, support the Atlantic alliance and oppose unilateral disarmament by the West. Yet many young people, Roman Catholic pacifists and non-Communist leftists argue otherwise, insisting that the bloc system creates its own dynamics, that there is neither a good nor a bad power but two superpowers that seek to control their own zones of influence.

In Ragusa, a hilly town 12 miles from Comiso. Saro di Grande, a high school teacher, participated one evening in a prayer meeting with other members of his grassroots Catholic community. They left their makeshift chapel for a meeting room to discuss a peace demonstration at the American base in Sigonella. One young man suggested that they also send a bus to Prague to show solidarity with Czechoslovak peace activists who oppose the SS-20's.

"We have to overcome the blocs and leave NATO," di Grande said. "NATO was born with a defensive character, but it has become offensive." Reflecting a common fear that the new weapons will be used against such countries as Libya and Iran, thereby involving Italy in Third-World conflicts, he added: "The missiles in Comiso are to control the peoples of the Mediterranean." He thinks Washington's policies are no less aggressive than Moscow's. "Reagan's politics don't favor peace. Grenada and Lebanon are situations where the United States wishes to increase its own power in the world. The Soviet Union does the same in Afghanistan."

Italy's rulers will have to deal with such fears, and with the prospect that the Reagan Administration's efforts to strengthen the alliance by installing the missiles may have an effect just the opposite of what it intends.

Lucy Komisar, a journalist specializing in foreign affairs, recently spent three weeks in Italy. This article is reprinted from The New York Times.

OAKLAND TRIBUNE 1-3-84

Scenario for a war to end the world

A 'limited' conflict could suddenly escalate

By Michael T. Klare

How will a nuclear war begin?

Despite all the recent public concern and all the scientific research on nuclear war and weapons, this most important question has received only scant attention.

True, the United States and the Soviet Union have attempted to negotiate restraints on the size and character of their nuclear arsenals, but very little effort has been made to understand and control the circumstances which might actually lead to a nuclear catastrophe. And yet, given the snowballing effect we could expect from any first use of nuclear arms, it is obvious that such control is essential.

Most popular scenarios suggest a nuclear war will follow some sudden crisis, or come as a "bolt out of the blue"—a "BOOB" in the technical literature. This, indeed, was the impression fostered by the TV program, "The Day After," in which we never

really discovered what provoked the disaster.

Such a scenario may work in a television drama, but it overlooks the fact that a nuclear exchange is only likely to occur when U.S.-Soviet relations have reached a level of high mutual hostility, and in a place where both countries already are engaged in intense military operations.

World leaders are eminently aware that initiating a nuclear conflict would be suicidal, so such a war is not likely to start because they plan it. Rather, it may begin fairly well down the scale of violence and then acquire sufficient momentum to leap the "firebreak" between conventional, non-nuclear combat and nuclear war.

It has long been assumed that such a sequence of events most probably would occur in Europe, where both superpowers maintain large nuclear and conventional forces. But the very scale of the defenses on each side, plus the near certainty of nuclear escalation,

have deterred the outbreak of war in Europe since 1945.

The fateful spark is likely to be struck somewhere else.

Where? Logic suggests it could occur most easily in the Third World, where there is a potential for intense

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conventional warfare, and where the superpowers tend to intervene in strength.

Should both superpowers intervene simultaneously in some future regional

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conflict, one side or the other may incur heavy losses and then choose to escalate rather than surrender or withdraw.

This, then, is the "deadly connection"—the conjunction of superpower intervention and an existing conventional conflict in the Third World. On their own, such conflicts can reach fairly high levels—but they cannot cross the firebreak into nuclear confrontation. Once the superpowers intervene in strength, however, there is no natural limit to escalation.

Such a process could occur at almost any time in the Middle East. At latest count, there were some 8,000 Soviet "advisers" in Syria plus 2,000 U.S. Marines in Beirut and 15 U.S. warships—including two nuclear-armed aircraft carriers—offshore. If fighting between various Lebanese factions escalated, and Israel and Syria resumed hostilities, both U.S. and Soviet contingents likely would be drawn in—with heavy casualties.

And once both superpowers are engaged in intense conventional operations, it would take just one inflammatory action—a kamikaze attack on a U.S. carrier, say, or a major air strike against Damascus or Tel Aviv—to trigger a nuclear response from one side or the other.

Nor is the Middle East the only likely locale for the "deadly connection." As more and more Third World countries acquire large conventional arsenals, local conflict will become increasingly violent. And if the two superpowers continue to perceive such conflicts as affecting their vital interests, the risk of mutual intervention—and with it, the potential for nuclear combat—will increase.

Looking at the map, one can identify several such areas:

- The two Koreas are more divided than ever (though the cease-fire has been in effect for 30 years) and more ready to resume their bitter conflict. Both sides have large, well-equipped forces, and with significant U.S. and Soviet nuclear-ready forces in the region, a conflict could rapidly breach the nuclear firebreak.

- If the struggle in Afghanistan spilled over into Pakistan, and if U.S. forces were deployed there, a sudden shift in the fortunes of one side or the other could lead to a preemptive nuclear strike.

- The initial exchange need not occur on land. As more and more U.S. and Soviet ships are equipped with tactical nuclear missiles, and as these ships sail more and more frequently in contested waters, the risk of a nuclear battle at sea inevitably increases. This danger is especially great in such areas as the Eastern Mediterranean, the Caribbean and the Persian Gulf.

All this carries an important message about our national security.

U.S. strategists always have argued that our large nuclear arsenals are a

contribution to conventional attacks on U.S. forces. But in the sort of conflicts where local hostilities are fueled by deeply rooted religious and ethnic animosities, the possibility of nuclear reprisal has not deterred attacks on the U.S.—just as Soviet nuclear arms have failed to deter the mujahadeen in Afghanistan.

And because further Third World conflicts are likely to be fought at ever increasing levels of violence—due, in no small measure, to our failure to control the conventional arms trade—any substantial U.S. or Soviet involvement can initiate an escalatory process that would inevitably threaten the nuclear firebreak.

However critical our stake in the outcome of such conflicts, therefore, the best way to safeguard our long-term security is to stay out of them entirely. And, because the Soviet Union faces an equal risk, we have a common basis for negotiating mutual noninvolvement in potential flashpoints.

Both sides may suffer some strategic setbacks in the process, but this may be the only way to ensure our survival into the 21st century.

Michael T. Klare is military affairs editor for Pacific News Service.

NEW YORK TIMES 1-3-84 "WASHINGTON TALKING"

Rating Senators on Arms

By implication, at least, the Council for a Livable World seems to be suggesting that the United States Senate, and its presiding officer, Vice President Bush, are not in favor of a livable world. The council, founded in 1962, calls itself "one of the nation's largest nuclear arms public interest organizations, supporting candidates for U.S. Senate who are leaders of the movement to control nuclear weapons."

Recently the council released its rating of Senators based on how they voted on 13 issues, including funds for the MX missile, a nuclear freeze and nerve gas weapons. Generally, it said, the Senate performance was "weak and dismal" on the military budget and nuclear arms control.

"The Senate did little to push a reluctant Administration to negotiate seriously with the Soviet Union the nuclear arms accords that are so desperately needed," it said. The lowest individual rating, zero, was accorded the Vice President and 21 Senators, 19 of whom are Republicans. Only six Senators, all Democrats, got 100, the top rating: Carl Levin and Donald W. Reagle Jr., both of Michigan; Spark M. Matsunaga of Hawaii; Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island; William Proxmire of Wisconsin, and Paul S. Sarbanes of Maryland. The highest rating accorded a Republican, 92, went to Mark O. Hatfield of Oregon.

SAN JOSE MERCURY NEWS
EDITORIAL 1-3-84

A modest reconciliation

LAST April, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl began predicting that an obscure multinational meeting, scheduled for this month in Stockholm, would turn out to be important.

Arms talks between the United States and the Soviet Union could collapse by the end of 1983, Kohl reasoned. Then tensions would heighten. Stockholm might provide the sole scheduled opportunity to keep the superpowers talking at all.

Precisely as Kohl predicted, the Jan. 17 opening of the Conference on Disarmament in Europe has taken on dramatic import its originators hardly foresaw. Secretary of State George Shultz will head the U.S. delegation; Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko may also attend. Diplomatic observers anticipate a U.S.-Soviet encounter that could set directions throughout 1984. And the Reagan administration's optimistic predictions that the Soviets soon will rejoin arms control negotiations now point to Stockholm.

Unfortunately, there is little in the background or agenda of the meeting, or in the posture of the superpowers as they approach it, to sustain hopes that any drastic improvement in U.S.-Soviet relations is about to occur there.

If Gromyko shows up, he and Shultz may well meet privately. Given the recent history of extreme hostility between their two governments, that would seem, on the surface, to be progress. "At least they're talking again," many would say. But talking about what?

One imagines Shultz saying, "Gee, you guys really shouldn't have walked out of the medium-range missile negotiations, and it's a darn shame you refused to set a date for resuming the START talks." And Gromyko replies, "Golly George, you're absolutely right. We'll shape up. While we're at it, we'll stop complaining about the MX being a first-strike weapon." That would be lovely. But don't hold your breath.

Official sessions of the Stockholm meeting are equally unlikely to produce any miracles. The Conference on Disarmament won't even discuss disarmament. The agenda, set last summer in Madrid, calls for "negotiation and adoption of a set of mutually complementary confidence- and security-building measures designed to reduce the risk of military confrontation in Europe."

This is not a bilateral negotiation, but one involving 35 nations, as large as the U.S.S.R., but also as small as Monaco, Malta and Luxembourg. It's an outgrowth of the ongoing Conference on Security and Cooperation in

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Europe, which itself grew out of the 1975 Helsinki accords.

"Confidence-building measures," in American usage, is arms control jargon for the voluntary exchange of information intended to prevent a war from starting by miscalculation. NATO and the Warsaw Pact, for example, could agree to swap certain data on troop strength. They would notify one another of certain military activity. And, ideally, they would agree on ways to verify the information.

The U.S. delegation in Stockholm will argue for this sort of arrangement, focusing only on military activities on land in Europe. The American aim is to make a surprise conventional attack more difficult.

But other participants have other agendas. Neutral countries will press for nuclear-free zones in various parts of Europe. The Eastern bloc is expected to push pledges not to use nuclear weapons first.

After months of debate, all of this just might actually yield some confidence-building measures of a modest nature. But the fundamental obstacle in Stockholm will be the same one that plagued the arms talks in Geneva: lack of a more basic confidence, in Washington and Moscow, that either side can deal with the other at all.

NEW YORK TIMES 1-3-84
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

As the World Readies For Mass Suicide

To the Editor:

Four Soviet and four U.S. scientists are agreed that "a nuclear attack would be suicide for the nation that launched it, even if there was no retaliatory strike" [news story Dec. 8].

This information raises the question whether there is any substantive difference between Jim Jones ordering his followers to drink the poisoned fruit punch and the leaders of nation-states poisoning the minds of their citizens with bellicose rhetoric to justify their preparations for war. It also raises the question whether there is a substantive difference between the 900 cultists in Guyana drinking the lethal punch and the billions of members of the human race now casting votes and paying taxes to support the production of lethal armaments that threaten their extinction as a species.

L. S. STAVRIANOS

Adjunct Professor of History
University of California, San Diego
La Jolla, Calif., Dec. 10, 1983

Mondale Sees a Rise in Risk of War

By BERNARD WEINRAUB

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 3 — Former Vice President Walter F. Mondale delivered a sweeping attack on the Reagan Administration's arms control and foreign policies today and said the "risk of nuclear war" had increased in the last three years.

"It's three minutes to midnight and we are scarcely talking to the Soviets at all," Mr. Mondale said in a speech to the National Press Club.

Mr. Mondale, the front-runner for the Democratic Presidential nomination, identified the "key themes" of his campaign as "a more competitive economy, a more just society and a safer world."

"Do we live in a safer world than we did three years ago?" Mr. Mondale asked. "Is the world anywhere closer to peace?" Mr. Mondale said there was war in the Middle East and Central America, terrorism was erupting around the world and "U.S.-Soviet relations are in crisis."

"A dangerous escalation of the arms race is under way," Mr. Mondale said. "We need a President who knows what he's doing. We need a President who sees the world as it is, in all of its subtlety, its complexities, its dangers and its potential; who's been tested by experience, who's read and remembers

history, who will reduce the risk of nuclear war, who sees force as a last and not a first resort."

Mondale Praises Jackson

Mr. Mondale opened his speech warmly praising a rival for the Democratic nomination, the Rev. Jesse Jackson, whose visit to Syria brought the release of the captured Navy flier, Lieut. Robert O. Goodman Jr.

"All of us are proud of Reverend Jackson's success," Mr. Mondale said. He added that Mr. Jackson conducted his negotiations "with sensitivity and deserves our thanks." Mr. Mondale said, "I congratulate Jesse Jackson."

After the speech in a packed ballroom at the Hilton Hotel, Mr. Mondale was driven to National Airport where he boarded a chartered DC-9 jet for a five-day trip to Mississippi, Arkansas, Alabama, Georgia, Florida and New Hampshire. Mr. Mondale was accompanied by a dozen aides and nearly 50 reporters and radio and television technicians, an unusually large press group.

Mr. Mondale worked over his speech until moments before delivering it. In it, he set the themes for his drive to win the nomination and discussed the principal issue emerging in the campaign: the Administration's foreign policy.

Mr. Mondale's aides say privately that he believes Mr. Reagan is most vulnerable on the "war and peace" issue and on the tensions that appear to be building between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Other Issues Coming Up

Mr. Mondale said that as President he would put relations with the Soviet Union "back on a sound footing" and would seek "regular contacts" with Soviet leaders. "Mr. Reagan may become the first President since Hoover never to have met with his Soviet counterpart," Mr. Mondale said.

Mr. Mondale will address other issues on his campaign trip. James A. Johnson, his acting campaign chairman, said the candidate would concentrate on the Reagan Administration's farm policies in a swing through Arkansas and Alabama and would discuss military policy when he visits Columbus, Ga., near Fort Benning. In Florida he will speak on health-care costs, and in New Hampshire he is to address a forum on acid rain.

"We're in a new stage," Mr. Johnson said. "There's now a great deal more scrutiny of the candidate than there has been. We'd like to do everything possible to allow voters to hear and understand Mondale's substantive case for the nomination and the election. Therefore we wanted to focus seriously on these early days and give people as much as possible to sink their teeth into."

Others Reviewed Speech

Aides said several foreign policy specialists from Democratic administrations examined drafts of the speech and commented on it to Mr. Mondale and his staff. These specialists included former Defense Secretary Harold Brown, former Deputy Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher, Harry C. McPherson Jr., a Washington lawyer and a special counsel to President Johnson, David Aaron, a White House national security aide in the Carter Administration, Walter B. Slocombe, a strategic arms specialist at the Pentagon in the Carter Administration, and Max M. Kampelman, who was the Carter and Reagan Administrations' chief negotiator at the Madrid talks on East-West cooperation.

Until recently, Mr. Mondale has only mildly criticized the Reagan Administration's foreign policy, specifically on the invasion of Grenada and on Lebanon. On Saturday, however, Mr. Mondale issued a statement saying that he had read the Pentagon report on the terrorist truck-bombing of the Marine headquarters in Lebanon in which 241 American servicemen were killed and that he had concluded that the Marines "can neither fight nor keep the peace nor defend themselves."

He called for the immediate withdrawal of American forces from Lebanon and said President Reagan was pursuing a "policy of illusion" that has made the Middle East "far more dangerous than it was three years ago."

Aides said Mr. Mondale's decision was prompted in part by the Pentagon report and by a House Armed Services subcommittee document concluding that there were "very serious errors in judgment on the ground and up through the chain of command" that left the Marines vulnerable to attack.

SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER 1-4-84

Mondale claims world less safe under Reagan

By Carl P. Leubsdorf
Dallas Morning News

WASHINGTON — Walter Mondale began his 1984 drive for the presidency yesterday by paraphrasing a question that Ronald Reagan used to help win the White House in 1980 — and answering it with sharp criticism.

Mondale set the tone of his foreign-policy speech at the National Press Club with what he acknowledged was a reference to Reagan's 1980 question, "Are you better off than you were four years ago?"

"Do we live in a safer world than we did three years ago?" Mondale asked in the speech, made just before beginning a five-day swing through five Southern states. "Are we further from nuclear war? After a thousand days of Mr. Reagan, is there anywhere less tense, anywhere closer to peace?"

Mondale followed by quoting a recent Reagan statement that "the world is safer and further removed from possible war than it was several years ago."

Democrat Mondale then listed foreign policy dilemmas, saying that both the Middle East and Central America "are at war," that "a new wave of terrorism is raging around the world," that U.S.-Soviet relations are in crisis with arms talks between the two superpowers suspended and that "a dangerous escalation of the arms race is under way."

"For two generations, every president has done something to reduce the risk of nuclear war," Mondale said. But he said Reagan had reversed their efforts. "Three years into his term, there hasn't been one single advance made toward meaningful arms control. Instead, we have an extremely dangerous and escalating arms race."

Mondale also said Reagan "may become the first president since Hoover never to have met with the head of the Soviet Union."

If elected president, Mondale said, "I will take charge of American foreign policy."

"A president cannot ad lib foreign policy," he said. "He cannot delegate war and peace. He cannot turn strategy over to his staff."

Mondale repeated his call for withdrawal of U.S. marines from Beirut in 45 days. And he listed a series of steps he would take if he becomes president.

INTERVIEW

Air Force Space Chief Hartinger

General James Hartinger is chief of the Air Force Space Command. In this interview General Hartinger outlines the safeguards against a possible accidental nuclear war.

General Hartinger, how many false warnings have you had of a possible missile attack on the U.S.?

We've had two in the past four years or so. The first occurred on Nov. 9, 1979, when a technician inadvertently loaded an exercise-scenario tape into the operational system. So the displays at the Strategic Air Command and National Military Command Center showed possible missiles that were being tracked.

It took a few minutes to determine that this was a human error.

How were you able to determine that it was an error and not a real attack?

We have an instantaneous conferencing capability with all the sensor sites — all of our tracking stations. We went to them and ascertained that none were tracking any missiles. So we knew it had to be a computer error or, in this case, a personnel error.

As a result of that incident, we took steps that guarantee that it could never recur. We developed an off-site test facility in 1980 here in Colorado Springs where we test all the software and all the hardware before we install it in the computer system in our combat operations center in Cheyenne Mountain. So none of our testing is done any longer on the operational system.

How did the second false attack warning occur?

It was on June 3, 1980. Again, our automatic computer-generated displays appeared to show missiles being tracked.

Our missile-warning center again conferenced all the sensor sites and determined that no missiles actually were being tracked. So it had to be a computer error. It took less than a minute and a half to determine that.

We spent many hours investigating, and, finally, after we managed to duplicate the fault, we isolated the problem to a little chip on the circuit board that had been in the system for some time.

Once we determined the cause, we went off that major computer system, and we did many things to see that an incident like that would not recur.

What did you do to prevent this from happening again?

Well, one of the things we did was to increase each computer-message word length to 32 bits so there would be more redundancy in checking whether these were valid messages. About five months after that second incident, we went back on the major computer string after we had incorporated these fixes. In the three years since then, we have sent out over 175 million messages, and we have not sent one false message.

In those incidents involving false warnings of attack, how close was the United States to stumbling into a nuclear war by mistake?

We didn't come close at all. By going to all the sensor sites, we determined in less than a minute and a half that there was a computer fault and no one was tracking any missiles.

Are you saying that it would be impossible to have a nuclear war triggered by a false attack warning — for example, a computer error in your headquarters?

Obviously, there can be computer faults — hardware and software errors; there can be personnel errors; there can be solar activity — solar blanking that affects sensors; there can be auroral effects. Also, a decaying satellite can look like an incoming warhead to a sensor. That is the reason we have a man in the loop.

On every space or missile launch, that is why I assess whether it's a threat to North America. Human judgment will always be there to insure that we provide reliable, timely, unambiguous warning.

How can you be sure that someone at the command headquarters in Cheyenne Mountain won't push the button and fire off missiles in response to a false alarm?

There are no buttons to push. Our mission is to provide early warning and attack assessment to the national command authorities through the National Military Command Center in the Pentagon. So there are no buttons to push, as in the "WarGames" movie.

Do you think it is possible for a computer hacker to get into your system and trick your computers, as happened in "WarGames"?

A person like a student could not gain access to the computer system in Cheyenne Mountain, because we are not on the commercial telephone network. No one can dial up our computer system.

All the data that comes from the sensor sites to Cheyenne Mountain is scrambled — that is, it's encrypted. When it arrives at Cheyenne Mountain, it is unscrambled. And then it has to face a most trying, taxing protocol interface to be able to enter the computer system. So it would be impossible for somebody to get into our computer system in Cheyenne Mountain.

Since all this publicity about computer hackers breaking into secure computers, have you taken any additional measures to protect the integrity of the system here?

Well, we have looked at our system, and we feel that we were taking every precaution possible before the movie "WarGames" was made.

Turning to your other area of responsibility as commander of the new Space Command: In your view, is it feasible for the United States to develop the kind of missile-defense system that President Reagan spoke of in his so-called star-wars speech last March?

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"INTERVIEW" CONTINUED

We don't have the answers now, but we are going to be studying the technology options and will come up with those answers in future years. My position is that we're looking at a revolutionary idea, but we should seek to get there in an evolutionary manner.

If we could convince the Russians to agree to reduce nuclear arsenals down to rational levels and back this up with a defensive system, I think that would provide stability in the world.

Are you convinced that that's the way to go?

I am convinced that's the way to go.

At this stage of the game, how do the United States and the Soviet Union compare in the competition for the military high ground in space?

I think our technology base exceeds theirs. I think our space systems are more sophisticated and capable than theirs. However, they're putting a greater effort into their space programs. It's reported that last year they significantly outspent us. And when you add to that the inherent technology transfer from our open society to theirs and realize that their space program is dominated by the military, then you can see that they're doing everything they can in space.

U.S. News & World Report

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE 1-4-84

ARTHUR HOPPE

The Balance Of Terror

THE BAND was playing "Auld Lang Syne" for the third or fourth time in the crowded ballroom. "We've never had it so good," said the middle-aged, middle-class man across from me, raising his champagne glass. "And we've never been so worried."

Yes. I thought of my grandchildren and picked one: a grandson, aged three, blond, bright, funny, huggable, red-cheeked, robust. I worry about him. Grandfathers have worried about their grandsons for a hundred millennia. I am sure my grandfathers, half a century ago, worried about me: Would I do well in school, go to a good college, marry a good woman, be an honorable human being...

But these are minor worries with my grandson. I worry, rather, whether he will live to be five or ten or twenty or — God help us — fifty.

Fifty. That seems to be the key. If my grandson can live to be fifty, perhaps the human race will survive.

I try to think what that requires: Either we must become allies with our enemies or we must survive another half century of peace based on nuclear terror.

DR. KISSINGER and others who are wedded to what they call "the realities of the situation," like to point out that the balance of nuclear terror has kept the peace more or less for more than thirty years now.

True. But it reminds me of the old story about the man who leapt from the top of the World Trade

Center. As he passed the 47th floor, he rubbed his hands and said, "Well, everything's going all right so far."

Our present leaders show little interest in making allies of our enemies. They are committed to maintaining peace through nuclear terror. They are spending untold wealth to build more and mightier nuclear weapons. And they are moving them closer to our enemies' borders to increase the terror. As one might expect, our enemies are doing the same.

"HAPPY NEW YEAR!" Yes, these are happy times for us members of the middle class. Never have most of us been so prosperous. The poor grow poorer, but we thrive. Inflation's down, taxes are down, profits are up, the economy appears sound. The future has never looked brighter for us.

Yet a shadow hangs over it all. As I sat in that crowded ballroom, amid a joyous confusion of hats and noisemakers and balloons and with confetti floating on my platter of nouvelle cuisine raspberry bombe, I had the feeling that we were partying on the slopes of a volcano. And when the check came and proved unbelievably huge, it didn't seem to matter.

As long as our leaders persist in maintaining a balance of terror, it is natural that we should be terrified. Being terrified, they tell us, is what keeps the peace. And as long as we and our enemies are both terrified, they say, there will be no nuclear war.

But terror is not a pretty state of mind. Nor, I would think, a stable one. What have we done to deserve this? Perhaps I voted wrongly, failed to speak out, protested too little. But what has my grandson done to live his whole life in an ugly shadow?

"Happy New Year!" We blew our horns and threw our streamers and kissed and sipped warm champagne — the happy, prosperous, solid middle class. And yet somewhere down deep was the ever-present terror.

I like to think we will make allies of our enemies. I like to believe we will become allies against our mutual nemesis: the extinction of the human race.

I like to believe this because it is easier to believe than that my grandson can survive a half century of nuclear terror.

SAN JOSE MERCURY NEWS 1-4-84

Car rams guard, gates at cruise missile base

GREENHAM COMMON, England (AP) — A car crashed into the gates of the main entrance to the U.S. cruise missile base in Greenham Common on Tuesday, knocking a policeman into a barbed-wire fence and injuring him slightly, authorities said.

A Defense Ministry spokesman said the driver stepped on the accelerator when a British military policeman opened the gates slightly to check his identity. The officer, who was not identified, was treated for cuts and bruises.

The driver was arrested on a charge of causing bodily harm and will appear in court Feb. 20. Police did not release his name.

It happened: They gave a war and nobody came

By Marc Kaufman
Knight News Service

It was 11:14 yesterday morning when officials in 44 Pennsylvania counties received word that nuclear war was imminent.

"Urgent, all stations," read the teletype coming in to county civil defense headquarters. "This is an attack warning. Repeat, this is an attack warning. Supplemental information will be furnished as soon as available. This is an attack warning. Take appropriate action."

In 43 counties, officials quickly called regional headquarters and found that the message had been sent improperly: An error had been made by AT&T technicians working on improvements to the state's emergency communication system.

But in Lehigh County, in northeastern Pennsylvania, the civil defense officer in charge called his regional headquarters and verified that the warning had been sent — but hung up before hearing that it was a false alarm. He then quickly moved to put the county's warning plan into effect.

Forty special sirens went off in Allentown and around the county, and police, fire and ambulance departments were put on alert.

The high-pitched sirens blared for three minutes until officials received this second message:

"Attention, attention," it read. "Please disregard the preceding attack warning message. This was sent out in error by AT&T technicians testing the system. Again, please disregard any attack warning message received over this system."

The sirens were stopped, and emergency workers were quickly taken off alert.

Remarkably, virtually nobody in the county seemed to have noticed that something very unusual had happened.

Jerry Duckett, the county's civil defense director, said the county communications center did not receive one call asking what the strange, loud sirens were all about. The Lehigh County police and fire emergency communications line was equally silent, as were the phones at the Morning Call newspaper in Allentown.

"I've been in this business since 1955, and there has always been a general apathy," Duckett said, trying to explain the lack of public response.

"Millions of dollars have been spent by federal, state and local government on booklets, public service announcements and generally telling people what to do if there's an attack — but none of it seems to sink in. Maybe people feel that if something happens, they won't be around long enough for civil defense to make a differ-

According to Duckett, the decision to sound the county sirens was made by his assistant, Thomas Nervine. Duckett said that after receiving the initial message, Nervine called the Pennsylvania Emergency Management Agency (PEMA) regional station in Hamburg and asked to verify that a warning signal had been sent.

"Apparently, they said yes, and then Tom hung up," Duckett said. "He was so concerned about getting out the warning that he didn't wait for them to explain that it was a mistake."

Craig Williamson, PEMA's deputy director in Harrisburg, said that he was very interested in learning more about the response in Lehigh to the alarm.

"We want to look into it, why there wasn't more interest in this public notice signal, he said. "Frankly, I suspect there would have been about the same response in all the other counties, too."

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE
1-5-84

Pennsylvanians Told They're Under Attack

Harrisburg, Pa.

The state erroneously warned 44 counties yesterday that Pennsylvania was under a military attack and sirens wailed in the Allentown area.

The warning was sent in error by the Pennsylvania Emergency Management Agency when technicians tried to duplicate a stored message and put it into the agency's new computer system, officials said.

The faulty message went to 44 of Pennsylvania's 67 counties shortly after 11 a.m., shattering the nerves of many local civil defense officials.

In Allentown, it was taken so seriously that officials notified the police and fire departments of the "attack" by emergency radio broadcast and 40 sirens were sounded.

The local broadcast told police and fire officials to "take appropriate action" and said additional information would be "furnished as soon as available."

While it was all a mistake, Jerry Duckett, civil defense director for Lehigh County, which includes Allentown, complained that residents paid no attention to the screaming sirens.

"I attribute it to the general apathy of the American people," Duckett said. "People feel that if there is a nuclear attack, 'forget it, I'm not going to be around anyway,'" Duckett said.

Emergency management agency technicians realized their error almost immediately and county emergency management officials were notified within 4 or 5 minutes by printout and telephone to disregard the attack message, agency official John Comey said.

But it all stirred some apprehension among local civil defense officials, even if the public paid little attention.

"It was like my eyeballs almost fell out. I couldn't figure out what was going on ... if somebody was playing a practical joke or what," said Ann Berarducci, who stripped the original message from a teletype in an emergency center near Pittsburgh.

Lehigh County was "the only county that responded to this degree," Comey said.

Lehigh officials did, however, stop short of relaying the warning to radio and television stations on the Emergency Broadcast System.

Residents would have been instructed to tune to a specific station for more information if the Emergency Broadcast System had been activated. A real warning would be initiated on the federal level, as in the event of a nuclear attack, Comey said.

United Press

USA TODAY 1-5-84

Pa. nuke alert was mistake

Special for USA TODAY

ALLENTOWN, Pa. — A warning went out across Pennsylvania Wednesday — the USA is under nuclear attack.

The warning was real. The attack wasn't.

"It was like my eyeballs almost fell out," said Ann Berarducci, a Beaver County secretary, who got the message.

CONTINUED

The warning — intended for use in the event of nuclear attack — was relayed to 44 of the state's 67 counties at 11:17 a.m., said John Comey of the Pennsylvania Emergency Management Agency.

The cause: a technician's error while installing a computerized teletype system at AT&T in Harrisburg.

The alert was canceled in four or five minutes, but Lehigh County, 60 miles north of Philadelphia, had already broadcast the alert. Sirens

rang across the county; police and fire officials were deluged with calls.

"Some people panicked and got quite upset," said Allentown Fire Chief Ernest Toth.

But Philadelphia officials didn't broadcast the alert.

"In this city, you're talking about 2 million people, and we didn't want to cause real panic," said Robert McKeever of the city's communications center. "We sat on it trying to get confirmation."

40 counties get false attack alarm; only 1 responds

HARRISBURG, Pa. (AP) — An emergency attack warning was accidentally transmitted to more than 40 county civil defense offices across Pennsylvania Wednesday, but only one county sounded sirens and alerted police, fire and ambulance companies.

"There is definitely no excitement. No equipment was dispatched. It just didn't get to that point," said a man answering the Allentown Police Department switchboard who identified himself only as Dispatcher 2. Allentown, a city of 100,000, is in the east-central part of the state.

A spokesman for the Pennsylvania Emergency Management Agency said at least 12 counties called the agency to verify the message and therefore did not implement emergency procedures. As far as he knew, he added, Allentown's Lehigh County was the only one to take the warning one step further.

Lehigh officials, however, said they verified the warning with the agency's Easton regional office before following procedures.

Asked whether he was concerned that some counties may not have responded at all, the spokesman said, "It's not an immediate concern. We don't know that to be the case." By the weekend, he said, the agency would know how each county connected to the system responded.

Technicians for American Telephone & Telegraph Corp. were testing a new, computerized state teletype system when the warning was sent at about 11 a.m., the spokesman said.

Several minutes passed before technicians realized what had happened and manually typed a "disregard" message onto the teletype, Comey said.

The warning read: "This is an attack warning. Repeat, this is an attack warning. Supplemental information will be provided as soon as it is available."

The message went to 44 county civil defense offices. The other 23 counties did not receive the warning because they are not yet connected to the new system.

11 'guilty' Livermore lab protesters to appeal

By John Miller
The Tribune

LIVERMORE — Eleven nuclear weapons protesters found guilty last month of obstructing entrances to the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, have appealed the verdicts to the Alameda County Superior Court, contending they were denied the right to present evidence that might have exonerated them.

In the unusual "representative" trial, the 11 were chosen to represent 229 demonstrators who had pleaded innocent to the misdemeanor charge. The 11 were found guilty by a jury Dec. 8, and all protesters agreed to abide by the jury verdict.

Eight of the 11 received credit for the jail time they served following their arrest in June 1983, and three others received extra jail time ranging from two weeks to 30 days because they were repeat offenders.

The judge stayed imposition of the sentence, pending the appeal, and will decide Jan. 20 what happens to the other 218 protesters, who have yet to be sentenced.

In their appeal, defense lawyers assert that Oakland Municipal Court Judge Clifford Bachand, who presided over the trial, denied protesters the "opportunity to present evidence as to their state of mind, as to justification for their acts in general and, specifically, as to proffered defenses based on necessity and international law."

The protesters planned to raise the defense of "necessity" in their trial, in which they would have argued that the law allows people to break minor laws if that will prevent a greater danger to the public. The defense also wanted to show that the weapons design work being conducted at Livermore violates international law to which all United States courts are bound.

Livermore Protest

By Michael Taylor

Bottom Line on Cost to Taxpayers

California taxpayers spent \$1.3 million to arrest, jail, feed and process through the court system more than 1000 demonstrators at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory last June, local and state officials said yesterday.

The California Highway Patrol spent \$476,596 to provide more than 400 officers who made arrests and controlled traffic at the massive demonstration, said a CHP official.

Alameda County spent \$843,999 for a variety of expenses, including salaries for sheriff's deputies as well

as food, tents, field toilets and transportation.

Law enforcement officials emphasized that even though nearly \$500,000 went to pay for state and local employees who were already working, these people were diverted from their normal duties so they could work at or near the site of the Livermore protest.

This meant, as a CHP official said, that the normal complement of patrols was diminished because so many of the officers were in Livermore arresting protesters. The smaller and less frequent patrols caused delays in officials' response to citizens' request for service.

Details of Alameda County's experience with the demonstration were contained in a report submitted by County Administrator Mel Hing to the Alameda Board of Supervisors.

The report congratulated Alameda officials for being able to cope with the demonstrators, and criticized the anti-nuclear weapons protesters for creating so much public attention during the event.

In the report, Hing made two recommendations.

He said that in the future, the county should "present its side of the story and focus on the deliberate efforts of the demonstrators to disrupt the system with the resulting cost to the public of significant funds."

Hing also suggested that county officials seek ways to "limit the county's liability" by exploring the introduction of state or federal legislation that "will enable reimbursement of the county's costs."

Sheriff Glenn Dyer, whose account of the demonstration took up 19 of the report's 31 pages, said the demonstrators made "effective use of the media in advancing their philosophical viewpoint" and making known their "complaints of jail conditions, and in one instance, the

presence of hazardous material residue at the male (prisoner) housing site."

"A cooperative media assisted their effort to gain nationwide attention," Dyer said.

The demonstration took place June 20 at the weapons research and design facility at Livermore. The laboratory is one of two centers in the United States for the design of nuclear weapons. The other facility is at Los Alamos, N.M.

Hing said the county task force that compiled the report felt the arrest procedures, said to have gone smoothly, did not get enough attention in local newspapers or news broadcasts.

Hing said, "It was the acknowledged intent of demonstrators to disrupt the justice system ... and achieve maximum publicity."

grams could bring the total involved to about \$80,000.

The state will negotiate for FEMA funding "for other kinds of emergency planning, situations such as natural disasters, floods, fires, hazardous waste spills, (and) radiological accidents," Rodgers said.

The "crisis-relocation" program outlines steps to evacuate and relocate people to areas of less fallout in a nuclear attack.

The governor said in his letter he believes the program "can only be designed to prepare the public and their agencies for a futile and completely avoidable unnatural disaster such as a nuclear holocaust."

In Washington today, FEMA spokesman Jim Holton said, "We have encountered similar protest movements and declarations of non-cooperation by various governmental structures, including small towns; over the past couple of years, and we have taken no negative action against any of these jurisdictions."

NEW YORK TIMES 1-5-84

Gromyko Cool to Renewed Arms Talks

By JOHN F. BURNS

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Jan. 4 — Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko reiterated the Soviet position today that the West was trying to mislead public opinion by suggesting that "nothing special has happened" in the Geneva talks on medium-range missiles and that the Soviet Union might agree to resume them.

In a Kremlin speech, Mr. Gromyko appeared to leave little room for compromise in light of the start of American deployment of Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in Western Europe last month.

He referred to Yuri V. Andropov's statement on Nov. 24, the day after the Soviet delegation broke off the Geneva talks. As a condition for resuming the talks, the Soviet leader demanded that the West show "readiness" to return to the situation existing before the start of the American deployment.

East German in Moscow

Mr. Gromyko spoke at a luncheon for the visiting East German Foreign Minister, Oskar Fischer.

The Soviet Foreign Minister's remarks may have been intended as yet another signal to the United States not to expect any breakthroughs in talks that have been scheduled between Mr. Gromyko and Secretary of State George P. Shultz in Stockholm on Jan. 18 in conjunction with an East-West conference on European security.

State Department officials said last week that the United States intended to

SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER 1-5-84

New Mexico joins the mushrooming rebellion against 'holocaust planning'

SANTA FE, N.M. (UPI) — Wanting no part of "nuclear holocaust planning," Gov. Toney Anaya has removed New Mexico from participation in federal plans for emergency responses to nuclear war.

His action makes New Mexico the first state to withdraw through executive action. Massachusetts, Maryland and California have been removed through legislation.

Sally Rodgers, Anaya's policy aide, said yesterday the governor informed President Reagan of his decision in a Dec. 20 letter rejecting the Population

Protection Planning Program. She said no response has come from the White House.

"We don't want to spend FEMA (Federal Emergency Management Agency) funds for nuclear holocaust planning."

She said New Mexico got about \$255,400 from FEMA for about 12 programs last fiscal year, with more than \$44,000 of that marked for planning a civil defense response to nuclear war.

Additional funds for the same purpose from other FEMA-funded pro-

CONTINUED

"GROMYKO" CONTINUED

use the Gromyko-Shultz meeting to reopen discussions on arms control and other issues.

But the Soviet Government press agency Tass responded on New Year's Eve by saying that neither the East-West conference nor the Gromyko-Shultz talks "can substitute" for the suspended Geneva talks. Tass also said "American official circles are spreading statements designed to give the impression that, despite the deployment, things are going as if nothing has happened."

No Change on Western Side

On the Soviet position for resumption of the Geneva talks on medium-range missiles, the Government press agency said "there have been no indications" of Western readiness to return to the situation before deployment of the new American missiles.

Today Mr. Gromyko indicated that the Soviet Union did not envisage the nuclear weapons issue to be a major topic in Stockholm.

He said that Moscow and its allies would work for agreements that would "really serve" the interests of peace and security in Europe.

"If the NATO countries are really interested in easing the dangerous tensions," he said, "then why wouldn't they embark on a practical examination of the socialist countries' proposals on concluding between the Warsaw Treaty participants and those of NATO a treaty on the nonuse of military force and maintaining peaceful relations?"

A nonaggression pact between the two military blocs has been a feature of Soviet proposals for many years, and the idea was revived at a Warsaw Pact meeting in Prague shortly after Mr. Andropov became the Soviet leader 14 months ago.

Gromyko Assails U.S. Policy

At today's luncheon, Mr. Gromyko devoted most of his speech to attacking the United States and its policies abroad.

He mentioned American actions in Grenada, Lebanon and Nicaragua, United States support for what he called Israel's "expansionist plans" in the Middle East, and Washington's "encouragement" of South Africa in its attacks on Angola and other African countries.

In addition, he spoke of American policy as "fueling military preparations in Asia and the Far East."

"As soon as a people in any part of the world takes the road of national and social emancipation," he said, "Washington mobilizes all means of political and economic pressure against it or even commits Marines, warships and aviation to action, all this under the cover of hypocritical waffling about the need to protect United States 'vital interests,' which, to follow Washington's logic, cover almost the entire planet."

U.S. Practices State Terrorism, Gromyko Charges

By DUSKO DODER, *the Washington Post*

MOSCOW—Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko accused the United States on Wednesday of practicing state terrorism and described as duplicitous U.S. statements that Moscow could be expected to return to talks in Geneva on medium-range nuclear arms.

Gromyko made the remarks at a dinner for visiting East German Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer, but his speech appeared designed to dampen expectations that his meeting with Secretary of State George P. Shultz in Stockholm on Jan. 18 would lead to a resumption of meaningful dialogue.

Diplomatic observers noted that it has been standard Soviet practice before such high-level meetings to avoid public accusation in an effort to create a positive atmosphere for the talks. Gromyko's remarks Wednesday appeared to be setting a chilly tone for the forthcoming session.

'Heights of Cynicism'

Gromyko said the United States is using political, economic and military pressures to protect allegedly vital interests "which, to follow Washington's logic, cover almost the entire planet." He said "this policy of aggression and government-level terrorism" reached "the heights of cynicism" with the U.S. invasion of Grenada, "its aggression in Lebanon and undeclared war on Nicaragua."

"If one adds to this the White House's active involvement in Israel's expansionist plans with regard

to the Middle East as a whole, its encouragement of racist Pretoria to take armed actions against Angola and other African states, and its fueling of military preparations in Asia and the Far East, it will become clear how much combustible material is getting heaped up in the world through the fault of those who are holding their great power, imperial ambitions, above the time-sanctified standards of international law," Gromyko said.

Speaking about negotiations on arms control, Gromyko asserted that American and other Western leaders are trying to create the impression that the deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe was "nothing special" and that the parties could simply return to the negotiating table.

"It is difficult to say what there is more of in these statements—duplication or endeavors to mislead people by means of propagandistic dope. On the whole, there is probably a great deal of both," he added.

The portions of Gromyko's remarks distributed by the news agency Tass made one specific mention of the medium-range talks in Geneva. There were no references to the strategic arms negotiations, which have also been suspended.

Gromyko said Moscow will work at the Stockholm conference, on European military confidence-building measures, for an accord that would "really serve the strengthening of the foundation of peace on the continent."

SAN JOSE MERCURY NEWS 1-5-84

Salk joins anti-first-strike drive

LA JOLLA (UPI) — Dr. Jonas Salk, the scientist who developed the polio vaccine, signed a petition Wednesday calling for the United States to pledge not to be the first to launch an atomic attack.

The goal of the petition, circulated by the California Campaign for No First Use of Nuclear Weapons, is to place the no-first-use proposal on the 1984 ballot.

"I sign this petition so those in policy-making positions will be aware of public sentiment," Salk said. "I can think of more interesting global games to play."

Commentary

Walter Mondale's foreign policy

By Lars-Erik Nelson

WASHINGTON — Dull. Oh Lord is he dull! For which a million thanks. When it comes to nuclear weapons, I want the most boring, serious, eye-glazing, dullest strategist around. No excitement, nossir. I can live without out it. I like dull airplane pilots, too.

And yet, I do Walter Mondale a disservice. His views on arms control are imaginative, even thought-provoking — if you like your thoughts on nuclear warfare provoked. They also hit President Reagan in his single most vulnerable area as he heads for possible re-election this November: the suspicion on the part of many Americans that Reagan neither understands — nor knows any one else who understands — the risks of nuclear war.

In a speech here Tuesday, Mondale paraphrased a question that Reagan used in his 1980 debate with Jimmy Carter — a question that may well come back to haunt him. In Mondale's version, it goes: "Do we live in a safer world than we did three years ago? After 1,000 days of Mr. Reagan, is the world anywhere less tense, anywhere closer to peace?"

Mondale's speech, before the National Press Club, signaled a new phase in his quest for the presidency. Having garnered the endorsement of practically every organization associated with the Democratic Party, he is now going after the general public — no more "special interest groups" like working people, school-children, the elderly and women.

Mondale charged that under Reagan's presidency, the Middle East has slid from the negotiation at Camp David into the conflict of Lebanon, Central America is at war, and arms-control talks with the Soviet Union have collapsed. Reagan, he said, has squandered three precious years in the belief that you can produce an arms-control agreement with the Kremlin by embarking on a nuclear arms race.

Harshest of Mondale's criticisms was the implicit accusation that Reagan does not know very much about the real world, has not learned while in the White House and doesn't much care to take charge of his foreign policy:

"When the globe is a tinderbox, we need a president who knows what he's doing," Mondale said. "We need a president who sees the world as it is, in all of its subtlety, its complexities, its danger and its potential, who's been tested by experience, who's read — and remembers — history, who will reduce the risk of nuclear war, who sees force as a last, and not a first resort, who will speak up for American values and who knows that it's the president himself who must command and drive American policy."

Mondale pledged that, as president, he would institutionalize annual summit meetings with Soviet leaders, open negotiations toward a nuclear freeze, try to revive the SALT II treaty, kill the MX missile and the B-1 bomber, halt Star Wars weapons plans and build up the nation's conventional forces so there is less temptation for overwhelmed military commanders to go nuclear.

There are weaknesses in some of Mondale's foreign-policy prescriptions. While calling on Reagan to withdraw U.S. Marines from Lebanon, he does not offer a clear alternative strategy. Somehow, he thinks, closer cooperation with Israel is the answer. But meanwhile, get the Marines out, rather than let them die for no policy at all.

And there is a slight double standard on human rights: Mondale condemns Reagan's abandonment of human rights for the sake of strategic anti-communist alliances, yet forgets his own embrace, in 1978, of Philippines dictator Ferdinand Marcos for those same vital strategic reasons.

The best thing about Mondale's foreign policy is that it is not particularly exciting. It is serious, purposeful, experienced and informed. When Mondale talks of nuclear weapons, there is no terrifying sense that he is teetering precariously on the outer limits of his understanding. When he speaks of the Soviet Union, he speaks of hard-headed negotiation with a mischievous, unlikable superpower — not embarking on a new nuclear crusade to spend the Bolshies back into their huts.

Is that dull? Undoubtedly. Praise be. Everybody yawn. It's one of the great luxuries of being at peace.

New York Daily News

SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER 1-6-84

Research clears fallout in Utah children's deaths

WASHINGTON (UPI) — Researchers have found no evidence that above-ground nuclear tests 30 years ago caused higher death rates from leukemia among Utah children.

Three National Cancer Institute researchers said yesterday that mortality statistics failed to support a 1979 University of Utah study that found an increased death rate from childhood leukemia. The Utah study compared children in the higher fallout area of southern Utah to those in northern counties where fallout was lower.

According to the Utah study, those who lived in the southern 17 counties in 1951-58, the major period of above-ground nuclear detonations at the Nevada Test Site, were found to have a much higher death rate from leukemia than those in northern counties.

The National Cancer Institute researchers said the Utah study used inappropriate statistical methods. Regardless of the methods used, however, there still was little difference in leukemia deaths among children of northern and southern Utah, the researchers said.

"The evidence for an increase in childhood leukemia mortality in southern Utah as a result of exposure to radioactive fallout between 1950 and 1958 appears, on closer examination of available data, to be slight or non-existent," the study said.

Children in the south had higher death rates from leukemia whether they were exposed to higher fallout levels or not — leading the institute researchers to believe their leukemia was caused by something other than radiation.

Leukemia link questioned

Fallout didn't increase Utah deaths, study says

WASHINGTON (AP) — Fallout from 1950s nuclear testing in Nevada does not appear to have caused a significant increase in childhood leukemia deaths in neighboring Utah, according to a new analysis by National Cancer Institute scientists.

The report, to be published today in *Science* magazine, contradicts findings in an earlier study, which blamed fallout for a marked increase in leukemia deaths in Utah.

Residents of Utah, Nevada and Arizona have sued the federal government, alleging that above-ground nuclear weapons tests produced radioactive fallout that caused cancer and other diseases in people downwind.

During a nine-week trial in 1982 in federal court in Salt Lake City, plaintiffs cited the earlier study as a major piece of evidence for their case. U.S. District Judge Bruce Jenkins took the lawsuit under advisement and has yet to make a decision.

Charles E. Land, Frank W. McKay and Stella G. Machado of the cancer institute say in the new report that when they tried to confirm the findings of the earlier study, they found no support for its conclusions.

The report criticized the statistical methods used in the previous study by Dr. Joseph L. Lyon and colleagues of the University of Utah and the Utah Cancer Registry. It also said that the before-testing

leukemia figures used by Lyon for comparison appeared to be abnormally low, making any measured increase in this type of cancer appear unusually high.

"The evidence for an increase in childhood leukemia mortality in southern Utah as a result of exposure to radioactive fallout between 1950 and 1958 appears, on closer examination of available data, to be slight or non-existent," said the report.

Lyon, who published his study in 1979, testified at the trial that there were approximately 100 atomic explosions at the Nevada Test Site from 1951 through 1958, and 26 dropped fallout into Utah.

For the years of highest exposure, Lyon said, the incidence of childhood leukemia was 244 percent greater among children in southern Utah, which is closer to the test site, and 40 percent more for the state as a whole, compared to pretest years.

In the new study, researchers used death certificate information forwarded by states to the National Center for Health Statistics. They compared the Utah figures with those from other areas, eastern Oregon and the state of Iowa.

The researchers said that during the high fallout period, leukemia rates in eastern Oregon were higher than in any region of Utah even though there was no fallout exposure in Oregon.

LOS ANGELES TIMES 1-6-84

Fallout Effects Disputed

Fallout from 1950s nuclear testing in Nevada does not appear to have caused a significant increase in childhood leukemia deaths in neighboring Utah, according to a new analysis by National Cancer Institute scientists. The report, to be published today in *Science* magazine, contradicts findings in an earlier study that blamed fallout for a

marked increase in leukemia deaths in Utah. About 1,200 persons have sued the federal government, alleging fallout from above-ground nuclear weapons tests caused cancer and other diseases. U.S. District Judge Bruce Jenkins has yet to render a decision in the 1982 trial in Salt Lake City.

LOS ANGELES TIMES 1-6-84

U.S. Ready to See Soviets Despite Gromyko Stand

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Reagan Administration said Thursday that it stands ready to engage in "serious, businesslike and constructive dialogue" with the Soviet Union at talks in Stockholm this month despite hard-line rhetoric from Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko.

Gromyko, apparently trying to cool expectations for any dramatic breakthrough when he meets Secretary of State George P. Shultz in Sweden on Jan. 18, warned the United States in a speech Wednesday not to expect new Soviet concessions.

Gromyko used strong language in restating the Soviet position. He said the United States is trying to mislead Western opinion by suggesting that the Soviet Union might agree to renew suspended arms control talks without movement by the United States to both end and roll back deployment of its medi-

um-range Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in Europe.

"The tone and substance of the Soviet statement were unfortunate but not particularly new," said Alan Romberg, the State Department's deputy spokesman.

'Propagandistic Narcotics'

"For a speech with a supposed purpose of criticizing hypocrisy and polemics, the use of such rhetoric as 'propagandistic narcotics' seems strained to say the least and undercut Mr. Gromyko's assertions that the Soviet Union was not lacking in good will to reduce international tension," Romberg said.

"For our part, we have made clear that we are interested in pursuing a serious, businesslike and constructive dialogue with the Soviets on the full range of issues between our two countries," he said.

"That will continue to be our approach to the secretary's meeting with Mr. Gromyko on Jan. 18," he said.

The conference in Stockholm will be the first between Gromyko and Shultz since the Soviets in November broke off the Geneva talks on medium-range nuclear arms after the United States began to deploy medium-range nuclear weapons in Western Europe.

In his speech on Wednesday, Gromyko declared himself "firmly resolved" to reach agreement in Stockholm on measures that might reduce tensions in Europe.

But he made clear that he will take a hard-line Soviet position with him to the East-West diplomatic summit and that any such agreement must involve a change of policy by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, not the Warsaw Pact.

Livermore Protest Report

The Alameda County Board of Supervisors yesterday accepted a task force report on last June's Lawrence Livermore Laboratory anti-nuclear demonstration, which included a call for state or federal reimbursement of \$843,999 the county spent on arresting, housing and prosecuting the protesters.

The board's acceptance of the report from County Administrator Mel Hing carried with it an acceptance of Hing's recommendations on future mass demonstrations.

One of the recommendations was that the county investigate ways of seeking reimbursement to offset such expenses.

The report stated that Alameda County spent \$843,999 on salaries for sheriff's deputies and on a variety of services for demonstrators, including food, tents and toilet facilities.

Assistant Administrator George Hewitt said county officials already have attempted to obtain reimbursement from state and federal sources, but the attempts "have not been very popular" with lawmakers.

However, Hewitt said county lobbyists will continue to push for legislation in Sacramento and Washington that would be retroactive to last year's demonstration and would include any future anti-nuclear protests.

The report stated that California taxpayers spent a total of \$1.3 million on the arrest and prosecution of the 1000 demonstrators. Alameda County's share of that was \$843,999.

Hing's other major recommendation was that officials make more of an effort "to present the county's side of the story to the media." The report stated that the protesters displayed "an ability to manipulate the media to their advantage."

Reagan Weighs Major Speech on Soviet

By FRANCIS X. CLINES

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 6 — President Reagan, sensing the Soviet Union is in a period of "introspection," is considering a major speech to invite an improvement in East-West relations, Administration officials said today.

The President alluded to the need for "a productive East-West dialogue" in a brief statement this morning on the mission of James E. Goodby, the chief United States delegate to a conference on confidence and security opening Jan. 18 in Stockholm among ministers of North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Warsaw Pact.

Secretary of State George P. Shultz and Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko of the Soviet Union have agreed to meet at the conference to resume talks that were broken off after the Soviet Union shot down a South Korean airliner in September, with the loss of 269 lives.

White House officials said the President was considering making "a comprehensive statement" of his views on the Soviet Union, timed either for the meeting between Mr. Shultz and Mr. Gromyko or possibly as the key foreign policy section of his State of Union address on Jan. 25.

Moderation Emphasized

Such a statement, issued as the President prepared for his expected reelection bid, would presumably be moderate in tone. The President has emphasized moderation in recent interviews, dropping his earlier criticism of the Soviet Union as a "focus of evil," and has called on Moscow to "join the family of nations."

"The President is ready to deal with them," an Administration official said, noting that Mr. Reagan felt his defense buildup plans were now well along to being carried out. "The question is whether they're capable of dealing with him."

The official said Mr. Reagan sensed an opportunity to speak out during what he considers a mood of "introspection" in Moscow attributable to several factors besides the illness of the Soviet leader, Yuri V. Andropov.

"They failed to achieve a lot of their goals last year," the White House official said, referring to what he called "heavy handed" Soviet attempts to split the NATO alliance over the deployment of new United States nuclear missiles in Europe. "Also, the Soviet economy is not working well. It's not the model for the third world that they'd like."

President Reagan met for 15 minutes with Mr. Goodby in advance of the 35-nation Stockholm meeting, which is to focus on ways of reducing the risk of nonnuclear attack between the East and West in Europe.

"I reviewed with Ambassador Goodby the instructions to the U.S.

delegation and gave my final approval," the President said in a printed statement.

Mr. Goodby later said that his instructions "require that the United States delegation search for agreements on concrete, practical measures to reduce the risk of war in Europe arising from surprise attack or miscalculation."

The conference agenda includes ways of improving communication between Eastern and Western military commanders, including advance notice of military training maneuvers and observation of each other's exercises.

The Stockholm meeting, formally titled the Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, is not directly connected with the nuclear and conventional arms control talks that are currently suspended. One of Mr. Shultz's priorities is expected to be the question of when these talks might be resumed.

No Timetable for Agreement

Mr. Goodby said the Stockholm meeting was "not a substitute" for the arms control talks but could serve as an "important channel" in improving relations between East and West.

He said the conference, an outgrowth of the 1975 meeting that produced the Helsinki East-West accords, had no timetable for an agreement. "We think we can make a lot of progress over the next several months," he added.

If the President chooses to make a speech on Soviet policy, it would be done apart from an Administration report to Congress expected soon assessing how well the Russians have adhered to existing agreements.

Some officials who expect this report to contain detailed criticism of the Soviets, feel that the President's address, if it takes place, would take a larger perspective.

"A lot of people in the Administration believe now is the time for the President to make a comprehensive statement of his Soviet views," one White House official said, asserting that these were far more complicated in substance and far less aggressive in tone than his critics contend.

to restore "the military and strategic balance."

In a rare appearance in the West, Romanov told a West German Communist Party congress here that the installation of Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in Western Europe has "torpedoed the (Geneva) negotiations and made it pointless to continue."

He said Moscow was now forced to take measures "aimed at harnessing the adventurism of Washington's strategy" by aiming new missiles against Western Europe and the United States.

Romanov, a 60-year-old secretary of the decision-making Central Committee, is the most senior Soviet official to attend a Communist Party congress in many years.

His presence in Nuremberg has fueled speculation that he may be emerging as Andropov's heir apparent.

Romanov was given a standing ovation from the 800 delegates before and after his 30-minute speech, in which he sought to justify the Soviet decision to suspend arms control talks in November after the new missiles arrived in Britain, West Germany and Italy.

Washington Post

NEW YORK TIMES 1-7-84 Fallout Link to Leukemia Deaths Discounted

By PHILIP M. BOFFEY

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 6 — Three experts at the National Cancer Institute say evidence linking childhood leukemia deaths in southern Utah with fallout from atomic bomb tests in Nevada is "slight or nonexistent."

Despite a previous study suggesting the contrary, the experts said, the leukemia mortality rate among children in southern Utah was essentially normal both at the time and after the nuclear tests were conducted above ground in the 1950's.

The new report, which appears in the current issue of the journal *Science*, reiterates data presented by the Federal Government in a major lawsuit in which some 1,200 residents of southern Utah and neighboring areas are seeking compensation for damages allegedly caused by fallout from the nuclear tests. A decision has not been reached.

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SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE
1-7-84

High-Ranking Russian Scolds U.S. on Missiles

Nuremberg, West Germany

Grigory Romanov, a member of the Soviet Politburo who is regarded as a strong candidate to succeed the ailing Yuri Andropov, accused the Reagan administration yesterday of hypocrisy on arms control and warned that Moscow will do all in its power

BLOOM COUNTY / Berke Breathed



"FALLOUT" CONTINUED

But the data now gain weight with publication in a scientific journal after undergoing peer review by experts in the field. Science is the official journal of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

The article was written by Charles E. Land, Frank W. McKay and Stella G. Machado, all of whom are Government statisticians working on cancer epidemiology, the science of analyzing cancer rates and inferring probable causes from them.

Differing Interpretations

In an extensive analysis of national cancer statistics, the three experts reached conclusions opposite those of a previous study heavily cited by those suing the Government.

The two studies are at odds because of differing interpretations of what are essentially similar data on how many children died of leukemia before, during and after the testing period.

The previous study, published in The New England Journal of Medicine in 1979, also received peer review. It was conducted by Joseph L. Lyon, an epidemiologist at the University of Utah, who testified for the plaintiffs in the case.

In a telephone interview Dr. Lyon

said he remained confident in his findings.

Dr. Lyon contended in his study that childhood leukemia deaths jumped sharply in southern Utah from 1951 to 1958, when nuclear weapons were tested above ground in neighboring Nevada and declined after the tests ended.

The new study concludes that the leukemia death rates in southern Utah during and after the testing were actually normal and that it was an abnormally low leukemia death rate in the 1940's, before the testing began, that made the rates of the testing period appear high. From 1944 to 1949, for example, there were only three childhood leukemia deaths recorded in all 17 counties of southern Utah.

Dr. Land and his fellow Government statisticians speculate that the rural southern area was then so short of doctors that many leukemia deaths were misdiagnosed and attributed to other causes. They also suggest that children unable to reach medical care might have died of other diseases before they could contract leukemia.

Soviets dash hopes of resuming arms talks.

By Andrew Rosenthal
The Associated Press

MOSCOW — The Kremlin on Saturday strengthened its hard-line public stand on the disrupted medium-range arms talks, vehemently rejecting Western hopes that the Soviets might soon return to the Geneva bargaining table.

The Communist Party organ Pravda accused U.S. and West German officials of lying about the course of the talks, dismissed NATO's bargaining position as "absurd" and repeated the Soviet refusal to resume negotiations unless the Western allies agree to roll back the NATO missile deployment program.

Pravda said: "The contentions by American and some West European officials that the Soviet Union is on the verge of 'returning to the talks' ... are nothing but attempts to deceive the peoples and absolve themselves of responsibility for the torpedoing of the talks."

The harsh attack on Western nuclear policy was part of a Soviet campaign that seeks to blame the United States and its allies for the Soviet walkout from the Geneva negotiations last Nov. 23.

Like all such Soviet commentary, which Western analysts believe is aimed in part at fostering West European opposition to the NATO missile program, Pravda's article included warnings about the "danger" of the program.

The Soviets' campaign also appears aimed at the Stockholm security conference that begins Jan. 17. The Kremlin, which usually takes a tough stand before such meetings, has been trying to place the burden for compromise on the NATO countries.

At the same time, however, the Soviets also have rejected Western expectations that a planned Stockholm meeting between Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko and U.S. Secretary of State George P. Shultz might be used to lay the groundwork for a return to Geneva.

The Soviet Union left the Geneva talks after NATO began deploying the first of a planned 572 U.S.-built cruise and Pershing 2 missiles. The Kremlin then announced that it would begin deploying more missiles of its own in East Germany and Czechoslovakia.

NATO began deploying the missiles to counter an estimated 350 Soviet triple-warhead SS-20s in Europe. The Soviet position, repeated by Pravda, is that a "rough parity" existed before the new NATO deployment.

Pravda also repeated the Soviet demand that the 162 French and British nuclear missiles be included in the count of the NATO arsenal.

The United States argues that those missiles are not under NATO control and are intended only for the defense of Britain and France.

The Soviet Union left the Geneva talks on Nov. 23 after NATO began to carry out deployment of the first of a planned 572 U.S.-built cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in Europe. The NATO deployment is designed to counter the installation of an estimated 350 Soviet triple-warhead SS-20s in Europe.

Accuses West of Deception

"The contentions by American and some West European officials that the Soviet Union is on the verge of 'returning to the talks' ... are nothing but attempts to deceive the peoples and absolve themselves of responsibility for the torpedoing of the talks," Pravda said.

It said U.S. statements about a Soviet monopoly on medium-range missiles was "sheer invention."

It added: "The facts are such that there remains an approximate balance of the medium-range nuclear weapons ... While the U.S.S.R. has somewhat more delivery vehicles of these weapons, NATO has an almost 50% edge in warheads."

Quoting President Yuri V. Andropov's Nov. 24 statement on the Soviet walkout at Geneva, it said the Kremlin would consider resuming negotiations only "if the United States and other NATO countries display readiness to return to the situation that existed before the beginning of the deployment of American medium-range missiles in Europe."

SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER
AND CHRONICLE 1-8-84

Soviets hang tough on missiles-in-Europe talks

MOSCOW (AP) — The Kremlin yesterday strengthened its hard-line public stand on the disrupted medium-range arms talks, vehemently rejecting Western hopes that the Soviets might soon return to the Geneva bargaining table.

The Communist Party newspaper Pravda accused U.S. and West German officials of lying about the course of the talks, dismissed NATO's bargaining position as "absurd," and repeated the Soviet refusal to resume negotiations unless the Western allies agree to roll back the NATO missile deployment program.

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Quoting President Yuri Andropov's Nov. 24 statement on the Soviet walkout at Geneva, it said the Kremlin would think about resuming negotiations only "if the United States and other NATO countries display readiness to return to the situation that existed before the beginning of the deployment of American medium-range missiles in Europe."

The harsh attack on Western nuclear policy was part of a Soviet campaign that seeks to blame the United States and its allies for the Soviet walkout from the Geneva negotiations last Nov. 23.

Like all such Soviet commentary, which Western analysts believe is aimed in part at fostering West European opposition to the NATO missile program, Pravda's article included warnings about the "danger" of continuing the program.

The Soviets' campaign also appears aimed at the

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LOS ANGELES TIMES 1-8-84

Missile Talk Resumption Moscow Rejects Idea of

MOSCOW (AP) — The Kremlin on Saturday vehemently rejected Western contentions that the Soviet Union might soon return to Geneva to resume negotiations on limiting medium-range nuclear missiles.

The Communist Party newspaper Pravda, in a fierce attack that seemed to strengthen the Kremlin's opposition to a resumption of the talks, accused U. S. and other Western officials of lying about the suspended negotiations. It dismissed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's bargaining position as absurd and repeated the Soviet refusal to resume negotiations unless the Western allies agree to roll back the NATO missile deployment program.

"SOVIETS HANG" CONTINUED

Stockholm security conference that begins Jan. 17. The Kremlin, which usually takes a tough stand before such meetings, has been trying to place the burden for compromise on the NATO countries.

At the same time, however, the Soviets have rejected Western expectations that a planned Stockholm meeting between Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko and U.S. Secretary of State Shultz might be used to lay the groundwork for a return to Geneva.

"Ever since they walked out of the talks, we thought they would return, because it is in their best interests to try to prevent full deployment of the missiles," a Western diplomat said yesterday. "The Pravda statement shows they are adhering to their position that the missiles must be removed."

The Soviet Union left the Geneva talks after NATO began deploying the first of a planned 572 U.S.-built cruise and Pershing II missiles. The Kremlin then announced that it would begin deploying more missiles of its own in East Germany and Czechoslovakia.

NATO began deploying the missiles to counter an estimated 350 Soviet triple-warhead SS-20s in Europe.

**SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER
AND CHRONICLE 1-8-84**

U.S. loses bargaining power with Soviets

By Joseph C. Harsch

President Reagan was confident in his turn-of-the-year interviews that there is nothing really dangerous in Soviet-American relations and that the new year will find the Soviets back at the bargaining table.

He has a new reason for hoping his optimistic predictions will come true. Polls taken by the George Gallup organization show that the American people have begun to worry about his military policies.

A poll taken in October of 1982, showed 62 percent of Americans concerned deeply about unemployment, but only six percent about the "threat of war."

A poll taken one year later in October of 1983, showed an unusual amount of change. Concern about unemployment had dropped to 42 percent, but concern about the "threat of war" had gone up to 23 percent.

One month later, in November, after Grenada and the bombing of the United States Marines barracks in Lebanon, "the threat of war and international problems" had become the top concern of the American people at 37 percent. Unemployment concern had dropped to second place at 31 percent.

Politicians are sensitive to this kind of shift in public concerns. It explains, of course, why Democratic candidate Walter Mondale came out over the past weekend for withdrawal of the Marines from Lebanon. It explains why Republican Sen. John Tower, who heads the Senate's military affairs committee, went to Lebanon to find out whether he agrees with Mondale. Sen. Barry Goldwater was only the first on a long list of other prominent Republicans who have already said "get out."

such as William F. Buckley, William Safire, and James J. Kilpatrick, are also on record now for withdrawal.

According to President Reagan's political teachings, the one thing the Soviets understand and respect is strength. He has repeatedly asserted that, if and when the U.S. has built up its military power and showed its willingness to use it, the Soviets would be ready and willing to do business with him.

Well, 1983 was the year in which the president showed his willingness to use U.S. military power. He used it in Central America, on Grenada, on the Gulf of Sirte, and in Lebanon. By doing it, he first worried the NATO allies. Now he is worrying Americans at home.

All will come out well for Reagan if the Soviets behave according to his own formula. But Columbia University Soviet expert Seweryn Bialer has recently returned from a visit to Moscow, saying (Time magazine, June 2, Page 35) that "the U.S.S.R.'s distrust of Reagan is now so high that Moscow would probably reject even the most reasonable U.S. arms control proposal."

Bialer and other leading American experts on the Soviet Union have expected that 1984 would see the Soviets doing anything they can to embarrass and humiliate Reagan. They are already twice confirmed in their expectations. The Syrians have released a U.S. Navy flier, Lt. Robert O. Goodman Jr., to Democrat Jesse Jackson — after refusing to release him to President Reagan's special Mideast ambassador Donald Rumsfeld. And the Syrians had earlier spoiled Reagan's plans for Lebanon by denouncing the agreement between Lebanon and Israel. This made it impossible for Lebanese President Amin Gemayel to implement the agreement. Syria then blocked progress toward reunifying Lebanon under the Gemayel regime, simply by refusing to withdraw Syrian troops from Lebanon.

Soviet resupply of Syrian arms was behind both of Syria's anti-Reagan actions. It is also behind the direct pressure being put on the U.S. Marines by Druze and Shiite militias. If Reagan now finds it necessary to withdraw the Marines, he will have been frustrated in his Middle East purposes and embarrassed by having started something he could not finish.

It was easy for Moscow to impose the Beirut predicament on Reagan. They can impose another embarrassment by simply ignoring overtures he may make now toward talks about nuclear weapons.

The Soviets have little to lose, and perhaps much to gain, by refusing to play their assigned role in the Reagan scenario. The fact of no negotiations going on between Moscow and Washington increases the strain within the NATO alliance and political doubts about Reagan foreign policy on his own home ground. Reagan has lost, not gained, bargaining power against the Soviets by his strategy of building first and expecting to talk later.

Christian Science Monitor

**SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER
AND CHRONICLE 1-8-84**

By Frederic B. Hill

Despite their complexity and the aura of mysticism that hovers around them, nuclear arms talks are not held in a vacuum, remote from the political currents of the day.

A failure of political will

CONTINUED

"FAILURE" CONTINUED

Experts differ on the extent to which negotiations on nuclear weapons are affected by outside developments, ranging from angry rhetoric between leaders to military confrontation, direct or by proxy.

Thus, the failure of U.S.-Soviet talks at Geneva on medium-range missiles was largely a failure of political will. Even the decision to deploy 572 new cruise and Pershing II missiles amounted far more to a political statement than a military threat. And the effort to set new, and perhaps lower, limits on nuclear weaponry on the European continent fell apart largely because neither the Reagan administration nor the fluid Soviet leadership was prepared to make the political gestures necessary for accommodation.

Compromise may well have been an unattainable goal from the outset. But the harsh anti-Soviet rhetoric of the Reagan administration and the clumsy behavior of the Russians, particularly the shooting down of the Korean airliner, effectively eliminated any possibility.

In fact, nuclear arms talks between the two superpowers seem to be victimized by two recurrent political strains: On the American side, a readiness to exploit defense preparedness for political gain and, on the Soviet side, a tendency for brutal behavior to undercut its own foreign policies.

The Soviets always seem to be their own worst enemy when it comes to arms control negotiations. The Salt II agreement reached in 1979 was already in trouble enough in the U.S. Senate, but the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December of that year effectively destroyed any hope of ratification.

Likewise, the shooting down of the Korean airliner came at the very moment when Ronald Reagan had been showing signs of tempering his more extreme anti-Soviet rhetoric.

Today, the political climate between the two countries has been so damaged by these recrimination and conflict, notably in the Middle East, that no meaningful progress toward nuclear arms control may be possible in the near future. With the Soviets' own top leader gravely ill and Ronald Reagan having to stand for reelection, all the ingredients are present for stagnation.

In his memoirs, the Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev recalled a remarkable conversation with President Eisenhower at Camp David in 1959 which might be instructive to their respective successors.

Khrushchev and Eisenhower were speaking of how they decided on military expenditures. "It's like this," Eisenhower said, "My military leaders come to me and say, 'Mr. President, we need such and such a sum for such and such a program. If we don't get the funds we need, we'll fall behind the Soviets.' So I invariably give in. How is it with you?"

"It's just the same," Khrushchev replied.

Still, there is abundant evidence in the history of U.S.-Soviet relations that leaders can rise above conflicting ideologies, military-industrial establishments and everyday tensions to reach agreements on something as compelling as nuclear weapons if the political will exists. For example, the most far-reaching agreement on nuclear arms was signed by Richard Nixon and Leonid Brezhnev in Moscow in 1972 at the same time that the U.S. was bombing Hanoi, where many Soviet engineers and advisers were stationed, and American soldiers were being killed by Soviet-made bullets.

So, there is no overwhelming reason why Reagan and Andropov cannot meet and find a middle ground to control the spiral of nuclear arms, one that is so

costly, dangerous, and ultimately wasteful. The cost of single Pershing missile, for example, would be sufficient to fund research necessary to conquer some disease in the world, and the cost of one Soviet SS-20 would feed thousands of hungry children.

In our massive ignorance of the Soviet Union, how many Americans know that 20 million Russians died in World War II? Despite the number of Russians who appear genuinely alarmed about the prospect of war, most, no doubt, cut off from any accurate information, support more armaments in defense of the fatherland. How many Russians know much about us?

Can Reagan shed his inveterate paranoia of communism? Can Andropov restrain his generals?

Because these questions are essentially political, there is no immediate answer. We must wait and see. In the meantime, let one American and one Russian, men who know each other's countries much better than their respective leaders, be cited for their candor at a dinner in Washington on Nov. 16 marking the 50th anniversary of U.S.-Soviet relations. Anatoly Dobrynin, the Soviet ambassador who first came to the U.S. in 1952, said: "We have got to find a way out of the mess we're in."

George F. Kennan, the respected diplomat who was the U.S. ambassador in Moscow in 1952, said history teaches that an arms race like that in which our nations are now ensnared is "a dangerous trap from which, to date, the competing parties have never found a means to escape, except in the disasters of war."

Baltimore Evening Sun (Independent Press Service)

OAKLAND TRIBUNE 1-8-84

Stanford grant: Scientists to study paths to peace

By Wanda MacClarín
The Tribune

STANFORD — Stanford University has received a \$905,000 grant for an innovative program to allow some mid-career scientists to leave their laboratories and universities for a year to study arms control and disarmament.

The Science Fellows Program will pay the salaries of two or three chemists, biologists, physicists or engineers each year while they study at Stanford's Center for International Security and Arms Control.

The center's director, John W. Lewis, and the deputy director of the Stanford Linear Accelerator Program, Sidney Drell, will run the new program.

The Carnegie Corporation, the New York-based foundation that awarded the grant, decided in 1983 to devote a significant proportion of its funds to work that helps in the prevention of nuclear war, according to Coit Blacker, associate director of the

arms control center.

The scientists who began working on arms control in the late 1940s and early 1950s had worked on developing nuclear weapons during World War II and after the war returned to their universities or research centers, Blacker said.

In contrast, the scientists who are now developing nuclear weapons at the Lawrence Livermore and Los Alamos National Laboratories are specialists without the broad background of the earlier scientists, and the Science Fellows Program hopes to train a successor generation of arms control experts, Blacker added.

Technicians and scientists at the two nuclear weapons laboratories, as well as university professors, will study such subjects as how a nuclear bomb works, the history of the arms race between the two superpowers, arms-control talks, nuclear proliferation, military budgets and traffic in conventional armaments.

Star-Blinded and Spendthrift

LOS ANGELES TIMES 1-8-84

By DANIEL S. GREENBERG

If it wouldn't drain the treasury and probably enlarge the risk of war, a permanent manned space station could be written off as one of the jollier hallucinations of extra-terrestrial enthusiasm.

But ever since the Soviets politically embarrassed us by being first with Sputnik—though that device turned out to be primitive and harmless—technological myopia has been a deep-seated fear in American politics. And since the Soviets are steadfastly plodding toward construction of a permanent space station, the aerospace lobby, cheered on by celestial romantics, has been drumming hard for a U.S. counterpart.

Though President Reagan has heretofore resisted the pressures, the likelihood is that his State of the Union message will include a commitment for taking the first steps toward a manned space station. What the message will not include—because it doesn't exist—is a rational explanation for doing so.

There can be no doubt that a community in space would be exciting, adventurous and the source of scientific, technical and military advantages not otherwise available. But when the costs and advantages are balanced, they reveal a minor payoff from a colossal investment.

Space-station advocates, prominent among them Sen. John Glenn (D-Ohio) and the big aerospace contractors, project the nonsensical impression that rejection of their dream is equivalent to limiting the utility of space for scientific, industrial and military purposes. The fact of the matter is that vast progress in the versatility, reliability and life span of unmanned satellites has actually reduced the value of man in space. And, to the extent that man is useful—as a repairman or for experiments still beyond the capabilities of instruments—most, if not all, needed functions can be carried out during short-term visits of the space shuttle.

As for those enticing predictions of scientific breakthroughs just waiting for a permanent manned presence in space, it is worth noting that the space experts at the National Academy of Sciences see no need for a manned station for at least 20 years.

The military enthusiasts think otherwise, and their spirits are buoyed by the President's embrace, ambiguous though it was, of a "Star Wars" defense against missiles. Though the potential schemes of carrying that out vary, several of them are built around the concept of a manned command post in space. It is impossible to foresee the political and strategic effects of East and West maintaining manned military stations in space, but one likely outcome is an increased sense of threat and even further honing of hair-trigger nuclear capabilities.

Does prudence call for concern about the Soviets' dogged accumulation of manned experience in space through six Salyut flights with total crew hours three times that of the United States?

If the United States were inactive in



space, there would be ample grounds for concern. But despite the impressive statistics, the course chosen by the Soviets is different, rather than superior, and reflects their insufficiencies in electronics rather than skills beyond American attainment.

Sputnik imparted a never-again mentality to American politics, but it is a lesson mislearned if it leads us to emulate the Soviets in extravagant foolishness.

If they were to commit themselves to the

goal of anchoring a permanent manned station in the middle of the ocean, we'd sensibly debit them for foolishness, because there are better ways to exploit the oceans than just sitting there at great cost and considerable danger.

The same can be said about space.

Daniel S. Greenberg is publisher and editor of *Science & Government Report*, a Washington-based newsletter.

OAKLAND TRIBUNE 1-8-84

Study shows U.S. stockpile of nuclear warheads to grow

The New York Times

WASHINGTON — A new, private study of the United States nuclear arsenal estimates that the present stockpile of 26,000 warheads will grow to 29,000 by 1990, with most of the current warheads being replaced by new ones.

The study, in a booklet entitled "U.S. Nuclear Forces and Capabilities," says 2,000 warheads are produced each year by the Department of Energy. At full capacity, the department turns out eight new warheads each working day and retires five obsolete warheads, the study says.

The report asserts that the proportion of smaller, shorter-range tactical weapons has dropped while that of larger, longer-range arms has risen. The stockpile is split about evenly

between the two types, the report says.

The United States has 25 warhead models. Eight are for long-range missiles, including Minuteman missiles and Trident submarine-launched missiles. Nine are for shorter-range weapons, such as Pershing missiles and 155mm artillery. Five are bombs, two are atomic land mines and one is an air defense missile.

Following a longstanding policy on most nuclear matters, government spokesmen neither confirmed nor denied the accuracy of the information in the booklet.

It is the first of eight being published by the Natural Resources Defense Council, a non-profit group that says it seeks to protect endangered natural resources and the human environment. Soviet nuclear weapons will be covered in a later volume, the council says.

Endpapers

by ART SEIDENBAUM

Dennis Paulson sits in Santa Barbara trying to save the world with a manuscript.

He began about a year ago, taking leave of his work with the oil industry, moving from drilling to digging: poring over reference works in the public library to discover 4,000 of the most influential people on Earth. Then he wrote to them, asking five simple, excruciating questions: How do you view the nuclear threat? Why are more not acting to save our world? Could there be a death wish abroad in the land? Are you optimistic about our future? What can be done?

Back came answers from more than 100 astonishingly important people. From physiologist Roger Sperry and other Nobel winners around the globe. From Indira Gandhi and other heads of state. From physicist Bernard T. Feld and other pioneers in nuclear development. From Karl Menninger and other major psychiatrists. From Gregory Peck and other show-business celebrities. From Herbert York and other former advisers to the Department of Defense. From Flora Lewis and other international journalists. From Carl Sagan and other spatial thinkers. From Andre Sakharov and other dissidents of all stripes. From right and left, from here and there, Paulson the former paratrooper took testimony in the case of humankind versus nuclear extinction.

Bernard Lown of Harvard, president of the 40,000-member International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, has already called Paulson's project an "unprecedented" movement. What this 42-year-old expert in resource exploration is doing is building a book instead of a line of march, a document instead of a demonstration of clasped hands from Terre Haute to Tucumcari. Policy cannot be made in the streets, as Richard Nixon once rightly said. Policy must be made—or changed—by talk, with evidence, from paper. If marches create a mass expression and if movies build an emotional response, perhaps only a book can make an intellectual difference. Agreement comes from words. Perhaps a book can't produce more than more words, but this outsider who says he's already spent seven-eighths of his savings to compile those words plans to publish "Suicide or Survival" this year.

Paulson's emotional response was triggered by his daughter. He was standing atop Half Dome in the High Sierra with his two children 18 months ago; Mallika, then 5½, turned to her father and said, "It's nice to get a life before you die." The intellectual exercise followed almost immediately.

Many world leaders answered with their most recent position papers rather than in direct response, including the President and his would-be challengers in 1984. But others, including former West German Chancellor Willy Brandt, addressed themselves specifically and personally to the questions posed. Prime Minister Gandhi's final words on the subject are, "In essence, it is an unrelenting effort to convert the hearts of the powerful." Only a few world figures suggested that this was a project of vainglorious pacifism.

This month, Paulson takes his testimony to a few already-interested publishers. Many books—many good books—have appeared in the last couple of

years on the question of nuclear survival. But perhaps no book has tried to embrace so many disciplines and cover such vast distances. Scientists and heads of state, military minds and movie stars, recondite scholars and everyday reporters, all tried to answer the questions of our time—and maybe all time. There is an obvious danger of repetition when a crowd of writers, however knowing, addresses the same set of questions. The word *education* echoes in several answers. But there may be a power in repetition as well, if so many minds from so many places concur in what to do for the human condition. Paulson's book, in the best light, represents variegated wisdom from a broad accumulation of creatures; think of it as a potential rescue vessel with a cargo attempting to essay survival, a sort of mind-borne Noah's ark.

LOS ANGELES TIMES 1-8-84

The World

Reagan: Europe Ties Solid

President Reagan has reaffirmed the U.S. commitment to its European allies, saying "Europe's security is indivisible from our own." In written answers to questions from the French newspaper *Le Figaro*, he said that widespread protest in Europe against deployment of new U.S. missiles there has not weakened ties. He said the U.S. security commitment to Western Europe "remains completely unchanged. The United States would consider an attack against its . . . allies as an attack on itself."



Nuclear winter

As a newspaper reporter you get used to all sorts of funny assignments. Mine have included politics, debates, and wars, but the most arresting, I believe, was a conference this winter of noted scientists on "The World After Nuclear War." It was at a conventional hotel; the uniformed doorman let us in at the revolving door; the half hundred or so celebrities looked quiet, normal, and everyday enough, only they were forecasting that civilization might end. Not merely civilization, but all life on planet Earth. They were serious about it. How do you cover a story like that?

They had satellite images projected on triple screens coming from Moscow with translated statements from members of the Soviet Academy of Scientists. Four Soviet and four U.S. scientists asserted that "a nuclear attack would be suicide for the nation that launched it, even if there were no retaliatory strike."

The U.S. scientists were quiet and matter-of-fact. They were reporting on studies that had been made in the last year or so. They were authorities like Carl Sagan of Cornell University and Donald Kennedy, president of Stanford University.

Last month in the Senate Caucus Room much of the earlier testimony was repeated. Listeners pondered. Maybe these experts knew what they were talking about; maybe it was exaggerated.

But the difficulty for the ordinary listener was adjustment: how to go from this creepy hearing into the everyday world, with overcoated bystanders waiting for buses, or the shops decorated with holiday festoons. How is man supposed to keep pace with this strange new world? At Hiroshima suddenly the nuclear bomb appeared ... and now this awesome new knowledge. The relations between Russia and the US are as bad as they ever have been. So what comes next?

The scientists contended that the ultimate danger of nuclear war is not the immediate concussion and blast of exploding missiles but the effect on the environment, the adjustment that makes life possible on Earth. When the missiles go off they may blow up soil and dust and smoke that create a cloud over the earth. Sun rays can't penetrate it. That drastically lowers temperature (30 or 40 degrees, maybe) and this creates a "nuclear winter."

This might be only one of the ill effects. Some evidence of this comes from observations by instruments on the Mariner 9 which, in 1971, went into orbit around Mars. It reported that the planet was enveloped in just such a dust storm as might come to Earth. A catastrophe to the climate might follow. Biological chains would cease functioning on land and sea; crops wouldn't grow. Stanford University's Paul Ehrlich told the conference, "Virtually all land plants in the Northern Hemisphere would be damaged or killed." Others

went beyond that. (It's hard to hold back the scientific imagination, but who knows? — who would have predicted the nuclear bomb?)

I don't suppose there has ever been a time when the human experience was supposed to make such jumps as now.

This concept of "nuclear winter," I notice, is making progress in the public prints though here in Washington it is only just entering political discussion of international relationships.

Magazines are breaking the way. A two-part article by Jonathan Schell, who wrote "The Fate of the Earth," is running in the New Yorker, and currently Atlantic Monthly offers a 20-page article by Thomas Powers on nuclear annihilation. They are not happy articles. They agree in effect that mankind has got itself into an awesome trap from which it doesn't know the way out.

It certainly would be helpful if our leaders could calm down their epithets; if they could improve diplomatic relations. We are hardly on speaking terms with Russia and they share our fear.

Surely in a crisis like this new efforts at communication are essential. As Thomas Powers says about warfare: "In the past when somebody lost, somebody won. Now nuclear weapons make that unlikely."

Christian Science Monitor

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE 1-9-84

The French 'Father' Of the Laser Dies

Paris

Physicist Alfred Kastler, the Nobel Prize winner who was known as the "father" of the laser, died Saturday in the Mediterranean coastal town of Bandol, his family said.

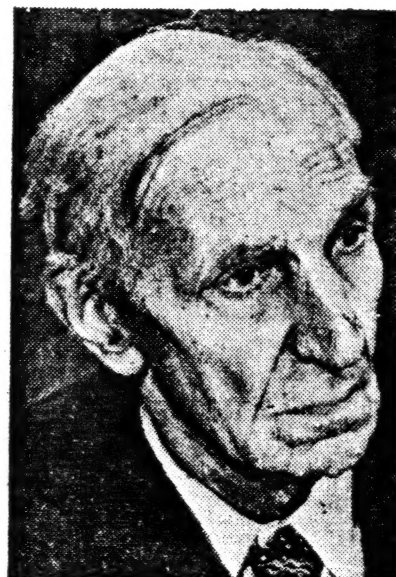
Family members said the 81-year-old scientist had been ill for some time. The nature of his illness was not disclosed.

Kastler's research in Paris in the 1940s and 1950s led to the development in 1960 of the first lasers — devices that amplify light to emit a narrow, highly concentrated and powerful beam used in industry and medicine.

The winner of the Nobel Prize in Physics in 1966, Kastler also was active in the Pugwash conference, an international organization of scientists concerned about the danger of nuclear war.

He later headed French campaigns for animal rights.

Born May 3, 1902, in what was then the German province of Alsace, Kastler studied at the Ecole



ALFRED KASTLER
Nobel Prize winner

Normale Supérieure in Paris, became a professor at various French universities and returned to the school in 1941 to head its Hertzian Spectroscopy Group, researching the stimulation of atoms by light.

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"DAD" CONTINUED

In 1950, the researchers completed a theory of "optical pumping" and later showed how to excite atoms with light waves to a higher energy level, so the atoms re-emit light in a very intense polarized beam.

This led to the invention of laser devices. The word laser is an acronym for "light amplification by stimulated emission of radiation."

Kastler used the research to develop atomic clocks with an accuracy of plus or minus a second over several centuries.

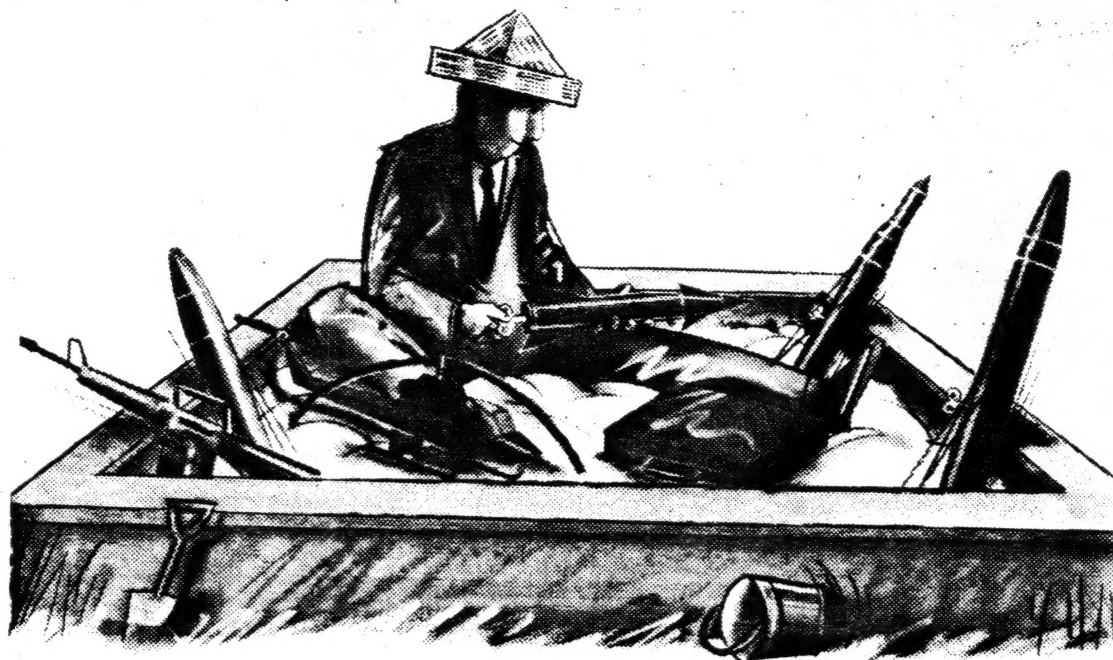
Modern laser applications include the use of beams in eye surgery, sound recordings using laser pickups and in weaponry, such as experiments with beams that can be used to destroy satellites in space.

Kastler entered the French Academy of Sciences in 1964. He retired from his post as head of the research team in 1972.

A leftist, he opposed the creation of a French nuclear deterrent, his name often appearing on anti-war petitions. His opposition to France's eight-year colonial war in Algeria led to the bombing of his Paris apartment by right-wing terrorists.

In the latter years of his life, he was president of the French Animal Rights League.

United Press



Andrzej Dudzinski

Patriotism may not be "the last refuge of a scoundrel," as Dr. Johnson said it was in the 18th century. But militarism, often disguised as patriotism, is the first refuge of a bankrupt foreign policy, as Ronald Reagan is proving in the 20th.

President Reagan's consistent elevation of militarism over diplomacy creates a clear and present danger to the internal and external security of the United States. Presidents have been impeached for less.

Barry Goldwater had it right. In Ronnie Dugger's new book, "On Reagan: The Man & His Presidency," the Arizona Senator is quoted as worrying about his friend Ronald Reagan's "surprisingly dangerous state of mind, which is that he will not seek alternatives to a military solution when dealing with complex foreign policy issues."

Internally, Mr. Reagan's militarism threatens America's economic stability and Americans' constitutional freedoms. Externally, it threatens our relations with our allies and the survival of the world.

Instead of defusing the Soviet threat by taking the riskless first step of a freeze on nuclear weapons, Mr. Reagan exacerbates it by striving for an unattainable superiority in every phase of nuclear overkill.

Instead of discriminating among the Pentagon's insatiable appetites for new weapons, President Reagan engages in a competitive upward spiral of the arms race while downgrading serious efforts at arms control. In doing this, he is insuring \$200 billion annual deficits for years to come, undermining the fragile economic recovery, forcing cutbacks in educational and human services and endangering the United States' economic and social stability long

Reagan's Shaking Fist

By John B. Oakes

after he has passed from the scene.

Instead of defending freedom at home as he denounces suppression of freedom abroad, he has already proved his willingness to curb a free press (as in the Grenada invasion) and to prohibit free access to unorthodox opinion (as in denials of visas to foreign visitors). These and similar moves reveal ominous symptoms of an authoritarian mentality more at home in a military than in a democratic state.

Instead of defining American interests in the eastern Mediterranean, Mr. Reagan sends the Marines to accomplish a shifting series of impossible and incompatible ends. With a naval flotilla showing the flag, shelling the shore and offering an inviting target to suicide missions, Mr. Reagan proposes that American military forces remain in Lebanon until that artificial country achieves stability. The only stability Lebanon is likely to achieve in the foreseeable future is the stability of the grave.

Instead of learning from the history of previous American military interventions below the Rio Grande, Mr. Reagan is plunging ahead with still another one. This too is doomed to failure in its effort to extirpate by force an inevitable and indigenous social and political revolution, of which the Communists, as usual, take full advantage, but are not and never

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SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER

1-9-84

India film festival to see 'Day After'

BOMBAY, India (AP) — "The Day After," the American television movie depicting the aftermath of a nuclear attack, will be screened in India Jan. 17 at the end of India's annual two-week international film festival, officials said.

Virendra Luther, director of the film festival, said producers of the American Broadcasting Corp. movie had provided a print of the movie free, as a "gesture of good will."

John B. Oakes is the former Senior Editor of The New York Times.



"FIST" CONTINUED

were the cause. Not even Henry A. Kissinger, with his call for massive infusion of funds, can paper over the folly of Mr. Reagan's gun-slinging policy in Central America.

In El Salvador, Washington is captive of a Government that itself is a captive of military murderers. Even now, despite the ludicrously belated warnings by Vice President Bush and others that terrorism must be stopped, President Reagan sends an unmistakable signal (by his veto of the certification requirement) that whatever San Salvador does about death squads, he will continue to give it full military support.

When the Nicaraguan Government came up with a series of peace proposals last fall that every other independent Latin American nation thought should be taken seriously, Mr. Reagan gave them the back of his hand. It is clear that what he wants in Nicaragua is not merely a cessation of arms and shipments to the Salvadoran guerrillas (the originally stated goal) but overthrow of the Sandinistas and a veto over the kind of government the Nicaraguans create for themselves. This goal is to be accomplished by economic strangulation, subversion and political pressure if possible, but by direct American military action if necessary. Some 4,000 American troops are already on "maneuvers" in Honduras.

It doesn't take much imagination to see how easily our forces can become engaged if the Sandinistas should be provoked into striking into Honduras for harboring the American-supported counter-revolutionaries now invading Nicaragua. That could be just the excuse Mr. Reagan needs to shift the Marines from the untenable position he got them into in Lebanon to what, in his military fantasies, he may still think is a winnable war in the jungles of Central America.

TIME 1-9-84

Space Weapons

The theory that space weapons [Dec. 12] will protect us from Soviet missiles is an illusion. The Reagan Administration and the Soviets should realize that the only way to have national security is to negotiate world security.

*Robert Anderson
Reston, Va.*

Ronald Reagan's belligerence drove the Soviets from the bargaining table. Now his Star Wars weapons will drive the U.S.S.R. to designing deadlier armaments.

*Ken Unmack
Cameron Park, Calif.*

Your story on the Administration's plan to develop space weapons created the impression that I am an enthusiastic supporter of the expensive Star Wars proposal. I have frequently said that I favor protective defense only if it can be executed inexpensively. I see little value in the extremely costly and probably ineffective program you describe in the sentence preceding the statement of my support.

I am in favor of deterrence based on protective defense as opposed to deterrence by retaliation. Many protective defense systems show promise and would cost less than the measures required to overwhelm by retaliation. I favor early deployment of protective means because it will do more to deter war than any retaliatory measures.

*Edward Teller
Stanford, Calif.*